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ADDRESS

OF
JOHN L. STEVENS,


United States Minister,

BEFORE AMERICAN CITIZENS IN HONOLULU, H. I.,

JULY 4th, 1890.

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM: PREDOMINANCE IN THE PACIFIC.

This is the one day of the year on which the American Minister is allowed by his Government to put aside the prescribed rules of his office and, as a citizen, to give public expression to his opinions. It is in this character alone, none but myself being responsible for my words, that I improve the opportunity to speak as an American to Americans, and to others present who would commemorate the birth of my country.

Patriotism, Liberty, Independence--these words stir the

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hearts of true Americans by a mighty inspiration. They lift American minds to an altitude where the skies are clear and brilliant and the air is pure and bracing. The great ideas which these words transmit, should never be obscured by individual selfishness, by cosmopolitan generalities, nor pushed aside by partisan ambitions. Patriotism, Liberty, Independence—they are a people's life, and without them a nation is but a blind, dumb, and hapless concretion in the hands of its enslavers.

It is the first of these—Patriotism, so dear to the souls of free-men, which I desire to emphasize at this time, though the other two are linked forever with the birth of American Nationality, whose history is familiar to you all, a story more stirring and heroic than anything in Grecian epic or Roman fable. Omitting at this time eulogy where it seems superfluous, turning from a past resplendent with historic renown, let us bring before us the duties of the present, the demands of the future.

Patriotism, born of the spiritual intuitions and christianized conscience of the human soul, which impels a whole people to unselfish sacrifice, and a Sidney, a Warren, and a glorious host of Freedom's martyrs to think it "sweet to die"—this noble sentiment cannot be satisfied by commemorating the past, by the firing of cannon, and a prolonged explosion of India crackers and bombs. Real patriotism is an inspiration to duty. It calls men to do the work well which is immediately before them. If there are those who think that it means only the performance of deeds of peril and courage on the field of arms, amid the smoke of battle and the clash of bayonets, they are strangely mistaken. It would not become us to underestimate the greatness of the work done at Bunker Hill, Saratoga, Gettysburg, on

board the little Monitor, and at Mobile Bay. But Patriotism is far from ending with these. We should never forget that the living sources of the heroism which was thus illustrated on arenas of peril and death, were in the moral education of the American people, which preceded those exploits on land and sea. The motive forces which gave direction to American councils and inspired American devotion to duty in the war of Independence and in the wonderful uprising for the Union from 1861 to 1865—these had their origin in a patriotism which had been nurtured in American homes, schools, and churches, and but for these the world would never have known of the two great contests for liberty and good government, which have so lifted up America in the eyes of men, and made her the continental beacon-light among the nations.

That colossal fabric—the American Republic—the grandest structure of government ever reared amid the sands of time—with its Federal Constitution, which the ripest statesmen of the Old World pronounce the most remarkable creation of human wisdom known in all the ages—with its admirably adjusted municipal, state and national institutions—its Supreme Court, the final arbitrator of all questions between the forty-two States—a complex, yet practicable, system of government, so elastic in its legal bands and machinery as to readily adapt itself to the fast increasing population and varied interests of its immense domain. That temple of human freedom and of law, the fairness of whose proportions no Athenian or Tuscan architect ever surpassed, has stood the trial of a century. Once the most terrific storm that modern nations ever witnessed, burst upon it, wrestled with its strong pillars, and spent its utmost force to wrench its corner-stones from their places. But in vain.

There it stands in the azure, serene heavens, with no crack in its walls, no clouds around its summits. To it the exiles of all oppressed lands look with earnest hope, and under its peaceful shade foreign millions, weary with unrequited toil, are seeking new homes. That wonderous civic and political edifice belongs to a nation which numbers more intelligent, liberty-loving men, has a larger aggregate of annual products of mine, field, factory and workshop, and more wealth, than any other in the world, and along whose iron and water ways on land, river, lake and ocean, moves a greater volume of commerce than has any other on the globe. No foreign armies are threatening its gates. No hostile fleets cross the seas to strike down the starry flag which floats on its lofty turrets. That the sunlight of future centuries may linger and play upon it, and its proud walls continue to stand firmly as the hope of civilized mankind, patriotic duty is ever imperative.

The American Nation has no occasion to be afraid of any external foe. If in her infancy she had fears in this regard, that period has passed. She has the means of putting into the field a larger effective army than has any other nation, and possessing within her borders half of the railroads of the world, she could readily move it to the necessary points, and for home defense can command the services of seven million citizen soldiers. She has the money, iron, steel, coal, shipyards, skill and men, to create a navy more powerful than any which has ever floated on the seas. Stretching across a vast continent and fronting the two great oceans, she has an impregnable position. Her commercial allies can repose in security and have no fears as to their independence. The foes against which America needs most to secure herself, are those within.

Thus we are brought to consider what patriotism demands of the Americans of to-day, and of those in other lands who share their sympathies and hopes. I repeat, we have no right to insist in living by what our fathers did. American institutions cannot be maintained by burning gunpowder and inditing brilliant periods over what George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and their illustrious associates dared and wrought. Patriotism is a living force. Patriotism is an undying flame, which lights the path of duty of individuals and of States. It is a perennial inspiration to effort and to sacrifice. It demands unsleeping vigilance. It seeks to discover the real dangers which imperil society and government. It would be vain and delusive for us to deny, that America has dangers to-day as she had in former periods of her history. Among these are the corruptions which spring from commercial greed and concentrated wealth, and those which have their origin in the massing together of vast populations in our cities, increasing in enormous proportions and with a rapidity without a parallel in other nations. How shall these be governed so that they bring not the same terrible consequences which were the fate of the great cities of former centuries? Babylon, Tyre, Carthage and Rome, did not fall for want of military force. Jerusalem, with her great natural and fortified strength, was conquered by her moral corruptions and internal dissensions, even more than by Titus and his legions. True patriotism has its foundation on the solid substratum of Christian ethics. It does not scorn the Bible. It does not repudiate the Sabbath. It sternly opposes the sweeping demands in the name of amusement and roistering license. It refuses to make use of the wonderful forces of iron, steam, and electricity to break down Christian institutions, the bulwark of free nations. If

the vast network of railroads, taking in the continents and the islands, with their mighty agencies of capital, commerce, and labor, is to be used to abolish the Sabbath and to destroy Christian institutions, then those who own the fields, the factories, and the workshops will think it expedient to do likewise. If bonds, stocks and corporations repudiate the laws and rules of religion, the demons of anarchy and vice will speedily follow the example. Law-breaking and immoral commercial license are contagious. Repudiation of the Sabbath is professedly urged in the interests of the working-man. If he accepts this repudiation license he will be shamefully deceived. To him it will prove a delusion and a snare. If there are men in the world who need the quiet rest of the Sabbath and a chance to give the mind and heart full play in what is pure and elevated, they are those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. If capital, commerce, and corporations combine to abolish the Sabbath and turn it into a day of noise and tumult, then the men of labor will have taken from them fifty-two days of the year, which the laws and customs of Christian lands heretofore have given them, for their physical welfare, and for the moral and social improvement of themselves and families. Amusement and hilarity are well as incidental helps to good living, but those who are always talking about them are seldom good for anything else. We were not made and placed in this wonderous world merely for play, like kittens and monkeys. The poet never spoke a truer word than when he said—"Life is real, life is earnest." Genuine patriotism does not encourage irreligion in any form. It clings to Christianity as its everlasting chart. Patriotism is reverential. It loves Liberty with an undying love, but it repudiates license as a deadly foe to good government and to human welfare. Man

has the right to do what he pleases, provided he does not infringe on the rights of others, nor violate the laws of God and his country. The Liberty which Patriotism teaches and defends, is the liberty which does its work in the harness of the law. The liberty which demands the license of anarchy and vice is more dangerous than a hostile army on the theater of war. America was founded and has achieved her greatness as a Christian land, and her citizens have the right to be protected in their Christian privileges and institutions, for these are the salt and future safety of America and of lands which have drawn from her blood, or would copy her example. It is the highest patriotism to maintain the America Nation on the foundations where the fathers and the Constitution placed it. Atheism is a deadly foe of the great Republic, and agnosticism is colder than the polar seas, where individual and national life is impossible. If the Nation, which extends from ocean to ocean, and has resources unequalled by any other in the world, is to be maintained and shall furnish to the future a strength of government and of civilization unsurpassed in the annals of men, it must guard and stimulate its moral life with sleepless effort and undaunted courage. Its immediate duty is to strike down political and commercial corruption every where, to wage a war of extermination against Trusts, against all unhallowed combinations which seek to control the food and material comforts of the people, and to constrain with an iron hand their natural and acquired rights. And the patriotic demand for the destruction of these monstrosities is equally strong for the removal of the liquor saloons, which send forth a deadly malaria, a moral pestilence, more fatal to the Nation's life and to the peace and welfare of human homes, than armed fortresses of treason in the villages and cities.

of the land. All the foundations of American liberty, morality and law must be watched with scrupulous care and unswerving fidelity. Powerful and indispensable aids to this great work of national security are the sixty-three thousands pulpits and churches, with their missionary boards and agencies, to which should be added the three hundred and fifty thousand teachers of the public schools, more potential for the defense and safety of the United States than are the trained armies of Europe for the security of its kingdoms and empires.

Having thus rapidly glanced at the present status of the nation, whose birth we commemorate, and emphasized some of the pressing duties of Americans, it may be allowed us on this memorable and prophetic day to cast and open eye on the future, to consider some things outside of America, yet intimately and necessarily related to what concerns America. Ethnology, the laws of commercial development, and the logic of history, plainly indicate that at no distant day, four National Powers will chiefly control the Pacific, its islands, harbors, adjacent lands, its polities, trade, and prevailing civilizations. These are the United States, the Australian Republic that is to be, and the Empires of China and Japan. The United States and Australia are sufficiently alike in essential elements of human development and character to be considered as one, for our present purpose. China and Japan also have strong points of resemblance and are essentially Asiatic in contra-distinction to the American and Australian nations. To-day the United States and Australia have a population of seventy millions, possessing intelligence, enterprise, and determination, unsurpassed by any people of ancient or modern times, with unbounded resources, and in the lifetime of persons now in this assemblage are to number two hundred and sixty

millions of souls, and at the close of the next century six hundred millions. With Americans on the one side and the Pacific Asiatic peoples on the other, combining a thousand millions of population, it is not difficult to perceive that Europe will be practically out of the Pacific arena, and that its nations will do well to husband the resources of its home domain and of its Eastern and Southern borders. The islands of the Pacific necessarily will come under the influence and seek the alliance, either of the American and Australian nations, or of the Asiatic. Naturally they constitute a part of the commercial and political system of the New World, as the Grecian Archipelago and the British Isles belong to the commercial and political system of Europe. While maintaining their autonomy and independence, it is for the people of these Islands to determine whether they prefer the United States or the Asiatics for allies. The great American nation has only good-will for the Hawaiian Kingdom. Of this the past and the present are a complete guaranty. In the annals of mankind I know not of a more striking example of national generosity than that of the conduct of the United States toward Hawaii. It is conceded by all well informed persons, that the prosperity of the United States, for the past twenty-five years, has no parallel in the commercial history of nations, and there is every reason to believe that this prosperity will continue in the century to come. By the Reciprocity Treaty now in force, the United States allows Hawaii to share in her wonderful prosperity, thereby more than doubling the property value and wealth producing power of this country, without perceptibly increasing the vast aggregate property of the United States. Thus not one of the States of the American Union is treated by its National Government with more liberality than the Hawaiian Kingdom.

The American Republic has been compared to ancient Rome in the prosperous periods of her dominion. It is correct to say, that in her proudest days, Rome held not in her hand such elements of power as the United States now possesses. But Rome was always a menace to other nations. Conquest and annexation were fixed in her policy. For the most obvious reasons other nations stood in dread of her. But the American Republic seeks not to enlarge her borders at the expense of others. Since the Slave Power in the United States went down forever on a hundred battle-fields, annexation ceased to be the policy of the American Nation. This is plainly shown in that, when at the close of the war in 1865, with one million veteran soldiers at her command, Mexico on the South and Canada on the North, then at her mercy, were untouched, unsought. That vast army, twice as large as that which Napoleon led on his memorable Russian campaign, and much larger than that with which Germany smote down Imperial France in 1870, was quietly disbanded, and not an inch of foreign soil was coveted. The like aversion to annexation was manifested when the American Senate refused to annex San Domingo with her luxuriant soil and genial climate, though it was offered by her own rulers, and that rich domain lies near the American shores. Yes, American statesmen and the American people realize that they have land enough, and by education, by conviction, and by interest, they hold it to be just and wise to respect the autonomy and the rights of other countries and of other peoples. They do not believe it well to send forth fleets and armies to seize islands and foreign lands, to appoint over them Governors, Judges, and other officials of political and military power. In the place of forcible annexation, the American Republic has substituted peaceful fraternity, gen-

erous reciprocity and good-will. It is this fraternal, humane policy of Christian civilization which befits America, and by which she can best maintain healthful life, and achieve that true glory, worthy of her commanding continental position and of her exalted leadership among the Christian nations of the world. While it could not justly be expected that the people of these independent and prosperous Islands should refuse any good thing or commercial advantage from Europe or Asia, the obvious and essential truth stands unrefuted by facts or reason, that America and Hawaii have reciprocal relations, stronger and closer than the latter can possibly have with other nations. There is no natural antagonism between them. In standing on fraternal lines they follow the rules of common-sense and of commercial logic. Near neighborhood has the obvious advantage over vast distance. Even when the enterprise and wealth of the United States shall have completed the Nicaragua canal and placed it at the service of the world's commerce, Europe will be five-fold more distant from these Islands than America, and San Francisco will be seven thousand miles nearer Honolulu than London. No cunning devices of men can overcome the cold mathematics of this great odds in distance. Besides, the United States and Hawaii belong to the New World, and their advancing civilization has a common stamp, as all who have traveled from Boston via Plymouth Rock, New York, Independence Hall, and San Francisco have quickly observed. It will not be by war, nor by diplomatic fencing and formularies, that that Europe will grow less and less in the Pacific, but this will come by the irresistible logic of increasing population and of superior commercial and social forces. It would be vain to oppose this resistless march of nature and of destiny, which are agents of God's will, before which imperial ambi-

tions perish and armies and navies crumble and melt away as the mists on the mountains are dissipated by the sun, and icebergs are crushed and dissolved by the ocean waves. When America shall have her *six hundred millions of people and Australia, China and Japan as many more, then Seward's prophesy will be more than verified, and around the shores and on the waters of the Pacific will transpire the great events and be developed the larger commerce of the world. In this splendid drama of future civilization and of commercial power these Islands will have their part. In the presence of such an auspicious future as these facts indicate, patriotism is a supreme duty—a patriotism not of Carthaginian or Roman type, which, inspired by heathen selfishness and ambition, hated and antagonized other nations, but a patriotism born of the Sermon on the Mount and taught by the great Apostle to the Gentiles, which recognizes that God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth—a patriotism which in Philadelphia, July 4th, 1776, gave wisdom and power to that remarkable body of men who made this day immortal—a patriotism which seeks the highest good of all within its horizon, whose radiant circle of hope includes this world and the Great Hereafter—a patriotism of moral and heroic devotion, which would keep America on the plane of fraternal and humane development, and which as an ever-living force, is necessary to make these Islands the happy homes of civilized men, sparkling gems in the great Western ocean, more beautiful than the famed islands of the Mediterranean in the brightest days of ancient Greece. It is

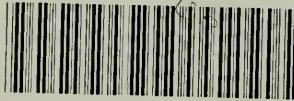
* James Bryce, a distinguished British author, in his recent great work on the "American Commonwealth," speaks of Americans as "The mighty democracy, destined in another century to form one half of civilized mankind." Vol. 1, page 149.

the hope and the prayer of all true Americans of to-day, that over this splendid panorama of the future Western world, its cities, states, governments, schools, its rich commerce, busy industries, and teeming populations, may rest the perpetual sunshine of Christian Faith and Republican Liberty, and in all its vast area be taught and practised the brotherhood of nations, peace and good will among men.





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